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UNITY

Freedom, Fellowship and Character in Religion

Official Organ of the Congress of Religion

GRACE FOR GARDENS.

Lord God in Paradise,
  Look upon our sowing,
Bless the little gardens
  And the good green growing!
Give us sun,
  Give us rain,
Bless the orchards
  And the grain!

Lord God in Paradise,
  Please bless the beans and peas,
Give us corn full on the ear—
  We will praise Thee, Lord, for these!
Bless the blossom
  And the root,
Bless the seed
  And the fruit!

Lord God in Paradise,
  Over my brown field is seen,
Trembling and adventuring,
  A miracle of green.
Send such grace
  As you know,
To keep it safe
  And make it grow!

Lord God in Paradise,
  For the wonder of the seed,
Wondering, we praise you, while
  We tell you of our need.
Look down from Paradise,
  Look upon our sowing,
Bless the little gardens
  And the good green growing!
Give us sun,
  Give us rain,
Bless the orchards
  And the grain!

—*Louise Driscoll.*

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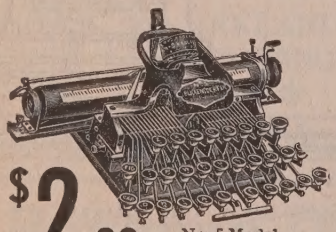

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXIX THURSDAY, JULY 26, 1917 NUMBER 22

Everywhere the Yarrow grows!
Here and there the thistle blows,
Here and there the barberries,
By the brook the plumy fern;
We know where the lily is,
Where the dear wild roses burn;
But the Yarrow everywhere
Wanders on the common air.

No one need to search for thee:
Even now thy leaf I see
Peeping o'er my opened book,
Throwing so fair a shadow down,
So perfect, that I can but look,
And, looking, find new wonder crown
The bliss of beauty which before
Taught my spirit to adore.

—Annie Fields.

A correspondent of UNITY, writing from San Francisco, says:

I am heart sick here in my own city at what they are doing to India's patriots. Ram Chandra, editor of their daily, under arrest, is as true a patriot as any man who ever struggled for the freedom of his race. India has been as grievously over-taxed and buffeted about as the American Colonies were. . . . There are strenuous times ahead of us. There are few papers I read from first page to last, UNITY is one of them.

Osward Garrison Villard, President of the New York Evening Post Company, on May last delivered an address before the School of Journalism at Columbia, Mo., on "The Duty of the Press in War Time." The address is now before us printed in an attractive little pamphlet. He had a message to give to the young journalists of America and it was delivered with becoming dignity and with characteristic sanity. We wish every reader of UNITY would procure a copy and after perusing it hand it over to the nearest local editor within their reach. In another column we have reproduced a part of this altogether noble address. See page 342.

And now it is an "Inter-Church Council" with an executive secretary "whose business it is to co-ordinate the activities of all the churches in town." The latest of these ventures to come to our notice has been achieved in Duluth, Minn., but the *Duluth Herald* of May 26th confesses that Duluth is near the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth city to take up the work in this way, and that these other cities extend from coast to coast and throughout the South. Let the editor of the *Herald* furnish for us our comment:

This is in reality a nation-wide, if not a world-wide movement. And its most impressive feature is its significance—for it seems to indicate that religion is developing into something less individual, less creed-bound, less stultifying than it has often been; that it is becoming in fact what it has long been only in theory—a great, unifying force for the advancement of the world.

The Editor has received the following note from a sympathizer which he gladly reprints and asks for it the serious consideration of all those who believe that there is a better way than war, and that there is no better time to secure the better way under any conditions and in all conditions than the sacred present. There is no past, there is no future in the grammar of the Eternal; it is always the ever living present at the high courts of God.

If a newspaper could be established at Washington which would espouse the cause of peace and democracy, it would do more good than all the literature that can be spread over the rest of the country. I know a great many Senators and Congressmen that at heart are not in favor of war and the administration program, but they will not come out in the open. All papers here are administration papers. If there were but one paper here to strengthen the backs of the people's representatives, there would be a decided change here.

The many friends of Ripon College, Wisconsin, now widely scattered, will regret much to learn that Dr. Silas Evans, after seven years of most successful administration, has tendered his resignation in order to accept the presidency of Occidental College at Los Angeles. This larger opportunity by taking up the work of a high class institution in a growing city comes of course as an obligation, but what is California's gain is Wisconsin's loss. The first two or three years of Dr. Evans' administration at Ripon witnessed a decrease in attendance on account of the higher standardization of the institution intellectually and morally, but during the last three years the student body has increased fifty per cent, the endowment has been more than doubled and the outlook is promising. Ripon College is one of the small colleges called into being through denominational sacrifices which has survived the limitations of such denominational college and has become a power for good in the community and in the State. A splendid field of usefulness awaits the new president. We hope he will be as open minded, forward looking and as international in his sympathies as Dr. Evans.

We take pleasure in printing the latest contribution from our Hindu correspondent, Chakravarti, not only because we are sure that our readers will be interested

in it, but also as an indication of the difficulty in these days of mail censorship to keep in sympathetic contact with our confessed brothers and sisters in the remoter parts of the world. The name of our Hindu friend is on our mailing list as a contributor and every week we reach out our hand to him in India; but he writes us, "Since the war I have been getting your paper most irregularly. The issues I get reach me oftentimes after two months delay. I do not know if you are continuing your esteemed paper or not. If you have sent subsequent issues where are they?" Sure enough, where are they? An innocent exchange published in the Welsh language in Wales suffers a similar fate. The editor complains that few copies reach him. It is the intention at our Chicago office that all copies should reach him. All the governments in Europe and America are suspicious and disturbed by the wireless apparatus. Even the open spaces of the air are to be monopolized, controlled and claimed by the War Lords, but there is a wireless realm of the spirit that cannot be proscribed. The pulsations of the heart, the aspirations of the soul, the dictates of conscience, cannot be permanently thwarted. There is a realm which the censor cannot control, there are fellowships with which neither congresses, parliaments nor entrenched armies can interfere.

The Triumph of Bernhardi

Taking Bernhardi as the best known, perhaps the most logical modern advocate of the philosophy of force, which assumes that governments must ultimately rest on military efficiency as its fundamental postulate; taking on its face value the doctrine that a government's power for usefulness and its chances for perpetuity depend upon the strength of its armies, it is pathetic to note how sweeping and far-reaching are his victories in these days.

If this pholosophy was accepted only by the German government and its only conspicuous leader was the Kaiser the situation would not be so pathetic and the signs of the times would not be so ominous, but when we realize that this Bernhardi philosophy has become the working creed of all the great belligerents, the triumph of Bernhardi in this twentieth century of the Christian era assumes astounding proportions.

This triumph is not confined to monarchial Europe. At last the United States, the latest born of the "Powers," has surrendered to Bernhardi. The President, who so valiantly defended the philosophy of justice, who was "too proud to fight," who marshalled the forces of democracy on the battlefields of reason, equity and democracy, seeking a "peace without victory," has now, backed by the majority of the United States Congress, accepted the simple and on that account necessarily fallacious philosophy of hate towards one power and one people, and assumed that the law of love must, for the time being, be suspended in the interests of the law of might because, according to the teaching of Bernhardi, in the last analysis the progress of the world waits upon the triumphs of the battlefield. So rapid has been this Bernhardi conquest that it is hard even for the new recruits to realize how far-reaching the surrender has been. A few months ago the one great champion of the gospel of the bayonet in the United States was Theodore Roosevelt. How fell the parallel between his utterances and those of Bernhardi was shown in the parallel column exhibit of UNITY last fall. Then the American people repudiated the Rooseveltian leadership at the polls in the interest of the masterful leadership of President Wilson, who came to his triumph at the polls by virtue of the slogan, "He Kept Us Out of War."

This success of the philosophy of Bernhardi carries its ultimate triumph into the citadels of religion. The great majority of the ordained representatives of the "Prince of Peace" in our land have now carried the sword to the altar; the cross of Calvary is subordinated to the bayonet and the cannon in the settlement of international affairs.

In one of our exchanges we read of a church famous for its civic leadership as doing "much to help the government in every possible way." It sends its boy scouts out to sell "liberty bonds." Even its "beautiful ritual," we are told, has been made to "conform to the needs of the times." While it prays "that the passions of hate, injustice, cruelty and revenge may not separate us from the ideals of love and brotherhood learned in companionship with Christ," with the next breath it prays "that the Immortal love will give effectiveness to the men of our armies and that He will be with them in the hour of battle." That church prays "that the men of the navy may have courage to meet the violence of enemies and that they may prove their valor in deeds that will gladden the hearts of all who love justice, truth and righteousness."

Another church is reported in the same paper as asking its members what they have done for the army and navy, for the liberty loans, food production and Red Cross, because every one must take a part. More surrenderings to Bernhardi! More suspensions of the gospel of the Cross as interpreted by the martyrs and the great confessors of history.

Only in the philosophy of Bernhardi, as popularly understood, is the cultivation of hatred set forth as a virtue. Outwardly speaking Bernhardi directs the feeling, and, what is worse, arouses the action of the belligerent world today.

And yet the "still small voice," allied to the surrender on Calvary and the triumph of Socrates at Athens is not without its witnesses. The unritualed

prayer of mothers, widows and orphans, and the unorganized protest in peasant home, workshop, confessional and council chambers are moving the hearts of nations as well as of individuals, are carrying even those in the trenches in the way of love. There is a holy discontent that chokes the curses of the belligerents, that changes the hate of the trenches into pity. There is a fellowship of suffering and self-denial that is making comrades of foes.

Bernhardi's victories are allied to those of Napoleon, Caesar and Alexander and are doomed as theirs were to defeat at the hand of the higher forces of love and reason represented by the many-handed armies of science, art, philosophy and religion. The war lords of Europe reluctantly compelled a majority of the United States Congress to accept the Bernhardi philosophy as a provisional necessity and so they declared for war. A small minority realized the pernicious character of this insidious philosophy of violence. Their victory is to come. The triumph of the Cross is yet to be written in terms of nationality and internationality. The salvation of governments, as of individuals, is to come through repentance and forgiveness, not through bitterness and violence. The "mailed fist" deals death; the open hand leads to life. "Father forgive them for they know not what they do," leads to heroic statesmanship as well as to sublimity of character.

Must He Shoot at His Brother?

Viereck's is the title of an "American Weekly published by the Fatherland Corporation," of which George Sylvester Viereck is editor. The burden of this publication at the present time of course is to adjust the German-American to the painful situation. This paper does not ask for the exemption of German-American citizens from military duty. It appeals with unquestionable truth to the history of the German in the United States to prove that he is no "slacker," but that he has borne his full share of burdens in all the realms of citizenship. Whether it be in the mines, on the frontier, in the fields, the shops or on battle lines, he has done his duty and has vindictated his right to citizenship. All this paper asks is that when it comes to the German-American meeting his kindred on the battle line he should be allowed to decide for himself. Compulsory service on battle fields is a gruesome demand at best, it grates harshly upon the nerves of the true democrat, it offends the sense of fitness on the part of a self-governed people, but when the demand is made that he should shoot his own kindred and prove his loyalty to his adopted land by becoming a foe to the land that gave him birth, the situation is so trying that to state it would seem to be both argument and conclusion against it. Says this frank magazine:

> What we ask for is this: Optional service for those Americans who falter at the thought of slaying their own kinsmen, their own blood, their own brothers, as it may be. For such as these we ask arduous military duties here in America, on the Mexican border, in Porto Rico and elsewhere.
>
> We feel confident that President Wilson would welcome legislation enabling him to direct this class of our citizens along the lines suggested by Congressman Fred A. Britten. So generous and high minded has been President Wilson's attitude towards the German element of the United States that the passage of the Britten resolution exempting German Americans from military service in Europe, would most happily coincide with the wishes expressed by the President on more than one occasion.

Here is another case which sets up a governmental standard for our Republic undemanded by the aristocracies and monarchies of Europe. The theory of monarchy is that governments must be directed from above and that obedience is the absolute requirement of all below. The theory of a republic is that governments derive their authority from the governed and the ballot and not the bullet or the bayonet is the ultimate criterion. One who was at once a notable German and noble American, the confidential friend of Lincoln, the maker of public opinion on high lines, the champion of freedom on both continents, a man who vindicated his Americanism in diplomatic service abroad, military service at home in the hour of the nation's danger, as a trusted cabinet officer and a power on the floor of the United States Senate, Carl Schurz, gave to us the epigram, adequate to democracy in times of war as well as in times of peace, "My country right or wrong; if right, to be kept right; if wrong, to be set right." The United States ought to follow the lead of Carl Schurz along these lines and join with the multitude, not only of German descent but the native born and those who hark back to English motherland, in demanding that loyalty to government be not based on antagonism to the fundamental loyalty of the home, the sanctities of the fireside. The time will come when all war will be regarded as fratricidal and all victims of the battlefield will be regarded as brothers wickedly slain. If that time has not yet arrived let it be said that at least for the United States no man shall be compelled to take a position where he will be required to shoot his father, to stab his brother, or to cause wailing at the fireside of those consciously linked to him by ties of blood. *Viereck's* is published at 1123 Broadway, New York City, and the editor would be glad to hear from those, not of German descent, who sympathize with this fundamental claim of humanity.

GIVING

The sun flings glittering wealth upon the world:
Croceous! not for that I thank him much;
But that he stoops with warmth like human touch
And gives himself—a glory more than gold!

—*Edward Wilbur Mason.*

CORRESPONDENCE

A Much Censored Letter

Dear Friend:

. . . . You will be interested to know that the Browning Class has materialized. A lady whom I met on a trip to the ——— Islands last summer, and whose home is in my neighborhood, came to me last January and asked me to lead a class of three or four. She knew I could not read. The proposition was rather a startling one for a blind woman; but I was glad to join the class and made the proposition that we should take turns in leading. The first meeting was at my house with attendance of four including myself. The number has increased to eleven and the membership will be kept open to fifteen. I opposed limiting the membership but as we are meeting at the homes it seems best for the present. The majority of the members have had a slight experience in the study at the Chicago University and at our own university as a part of their course in English literature. We have taken Rabbi Ben Ezra, A Death in the Desert, Caliban, Saul and La Saisiaz. I led the first meeting with Rabbi Ben Ezra. Of course I had to draw on my own resources. The others can read and have given us much from Berdoe which was interesting to me. I invited Mrs. —— to join us and she is an acquisition, and it is just grand anyway the good times we have. We had a meeting May 7 in commemoration of Browning's birthday. We each invited two guests. Violin music and singing of Browning songs and readings were in order. I was put down for a talk which was in substance the enclosed paper. Besides the paper I gave that part of Abt Vogler beginning, "Therefore to whom turn I," etc., that has been such an unspeakable uplift to me always. We met at Mrs. ——— home and everyone enjoyed everything. We have closed for the season to open again in October. We call our class the Browning Study Club. . . . They are planning a program for a meeting at ——— Park, and I will read a little poem of my own which I enclose. They will sing the first three verses and R—— will play the violin accompaniment. The thoughts in the poem were suggested by memories of my childhood home which was on a farm in northern Indiana and which was then the wild West. I have always been glad of it and like to think about it. The rest was suggested by the shadow of the great tragedy which now covers the world.

From the first, and naturally along the lines of evolution, I have believed Victor Hugo's prophecy would come true. Do we not see it now? How grandly has Russia led off. Sweden is following. The walls of imperialism in England are breaking. France and Switzerland have long been ready and the spirit of Socialism has gained ground immensely since this terrible world eruption began. I have tried to express how the laws of development in *all* life seem to run in parallel lines, from the tiniest forms of life up to the development of the great ultimate purpose, the development of character in human life. It is surely coming and is well on the way. Our own terrible plunge into the contest is deplorable beyond expression. It could have been done in a better way, but if the outcome means what we hope for it will be a future hope for the world. For myself I do hope the conclusion will come soon and that it will touch us lightly. You I know will be interested in my little effort. Use it if you like to, but not unless it will be a real help adding to the hope of the world. There is much more to be said. The subject of Evolution is a great one and requires a strong handling. . .

Now I have told you a long story, much in detail. I am quite sure I will go back to Chicago September 1. I want to see you all face to face once more and visit the old familiar places. And I want to say to Mr. Jones while yet we are in speaking distance of each other, that the happiness I am finding here has very largely grown out of what I received through his ministry and the Unity Club work—twenty-eight years. All heavy shadows have faded away and happy memories remain. I hope it has been the same with him.

I hope to be in and around Chicago long enough to meet with the classes when they are in session. . . . .

I have given you a long story about my life here as you kindly expressed interest in it, and you will see something of the way in which I am rounding up my eighty years. I glory in Miss Rankin. My eyes are gradually, very very slowly improving, but surely improving. I read the headings in the papers, a little often in UNITY and script perfectly well, and do all my writing.

Yours sincerely,

——, *July* 3, 1917. —— ——.

The Duty of the Press in War-Time

(See Page 339.)

To inject reason into the war; to make men see it as it is and not as they or their leaders might like to have it portrayed,—what more patriotic service is there to render today? None save to honor tolerance and to respect conscience. We cannot all think alike when in thousands upon thousands of homes our entry into the war seems the keenest wrong to ourselves, and to our Allies, our ideals, our aspirations, yes, to Christianity itself. The rift is within us; where it is honest and sincere let us not betray the American spirit of fair play by padlocking lips of dissenters or worse yet by the calling of names and the assertion that because others see not eye to eye with us they are therefore in sympathy and league with the enemy. To cry copperhead or traitor proves neither the righteousness nor the wrongfulness of any man's views.

To deny a man the right to his conscience is to my mind the highest form of treason to the American State, for let us never forget for an instant that upon the principle of freedom of conscience was this State founded. The Pilgrim fathers set foot upon the bleak New England shore in order that they might worship as they pleased and not as their king or their State Church dictated. Quaker Pennsylvania came into being because there were men then as there are men today to whom the Commandment: "Thou shalt not kill," is a divine law to be overridden by no earthly

covenant and no earthly decree. Let us of the press who have seen 4,000 conscientious objectors of highest standing go to jail in England because they would kill no other human being, be guilty of no intolerance or passion when the thousands who will refuse to kill here pass us by on the way to their Calvary. Let us rather remember that if all felt as they and had their courage there could be no war again; let us of journalism never forget that such as these keep alive the right of conscience; that, in a materialistic hour, they are reminding the world that there are still those who place the spiritual things above the earthly and the nationalistic and have found out whether it is the praise of God or the praise of men that they really desire. Let it never be said that we in free America have progressed so little away from the Middle Ages that we would burn the flesh or imprison the soul of men because they believing with us could yet not walk in our paths.

Believing with us. There is the crux of it all. For where is there the true American today who does not reprobate the long, long list of horrifying wrongs the German Government has done to the world? Will it not help us all to remember that in our moral judgments we are not apart? That in abomination of the rape of Belgium, the slaughter of the Lusitania, the ruin of Northern France there is no difference between Americans with souls their own? It is but in the means to the end of reprobating and scarifying these outrages against high heaven and all that men hold dear that Americans today are differing, as to whether evil can be exorcised by evil; whether the instruments of Satan can do the will of Heaven; whether the earth can be purged of militarism by militarism; whether we, too, can descend into the abyss of war and yet be exalted—it is only upon these issues that men differ today. Surely, surely if we but remember this we who differ can also respect, can refrain from attributing evil; can freely bring ourselves to reflect in the columns of our journals the minds of all men with justice and charity.

For all Americans, whether of a minority or a majority, cling to our beloved republic as men cling with all their hearts to what is best and truest within them and to all that is dearest to them. We cling to it with passionate devotion because it *is* a republic, because, like our forefathers, we would not crook the knee to any potentate who is such by accident of birth. We glory in our republic because it has no room for royal parasites, because no man within it dares to say that he is vice-regent with God and is thereby empowered to decide for us questions of life and death. We glory in our republic because it forbids social caste and all aristocracy save that of merit and of brains. We uphold our republic because under it we have the freeman's right to select our own rulers and to change them at will for better or for worse. All the more incumbent is it upon us to defend the spirit of these, our precious institutions, against any encroachment or conquest of that terrible philosophy of autocracy and Kaiserism which has brought the world to its present low estate.

In our utter repugnance to the spirit of German militarism and the utterly inhuman and wicked policies of those who control in Berlin, let us not stoop to their poisoned gas, nor to their war upon women and children. More than that, let us, giving thanks with full hearts for our republic, which still spells opportunity for the lowest and humblest, refuse to establish upon our soil a German efficiency to be achieved only by complete subordination of the individual to the State, lest thereby we destroy a Kaiser abroad and enact a new and more dangerous despotism at home. Let us give thanks that from its foundation our beautiful Republic has been the refuge of the oppressed and persecuted from every clime and soil; let us vow with all our strength that no single bit of immigrant Prussianism shall lodge upon these shores to lead us to persecute those who differ from us, or to raise upon these shores a Gessler's hat of militarism to which all men shall pay toll or tribute henceforth.

Let us of the press be a home defence by day and by night to guard this land of liberty against any triumph of the spirit of violence; let us watch by day and night that having as a nation reluctantly staked upon the issue of arms all the institutions that we call sacred we shall not crown supreme the principle that force is triumphant; that our domestic affairs are to be settled by turning to murder. Never was there a clearer duty than to uphold the supremacy of civil authority and the law, to deny Judge Lynch; to refuse assent to the doctrine that all social strife is war and that labor may triumph over capital or capital over labor, according as the one or the other resorts fastest to its bomb-throwers, to its disembowellers. There is a *real* enemy and one not to be lost sight of for a single instant by those who swear by the Stars and Stripes. We have released from his jar the most dangerous genii of the age; loyal Americans everywhere must see to it that we forget not the talisman, mislay not the magic lamp, but exorcise him back to his vase of tile the instant he fails us or we call upon him to kill no more.

Just in the measure in which we love our republic must we now dedicate ourselves anew to its service, those who stay at home no less than those who go abroad or till its fields or build its ships. For there must be no backsteps in this war, as in England where privileges dearly won by labor have been swept away overnight, where child labor has again come to pass in large degree, where the whole school system has broken down, beyond repair in fifty years. Whatever we think about the war we should all agree that no single movement for the betterment of life and living and knowledge for the wiser care of the weak, the helpless, the struggling, the upward-striving masses shall cease to advance. *How* can we of the press serve? By greater watchfulness for the foe at home; for when the nation is bent upon war then the master of privilege, the corruptionist, the conscienceless politician seeks each his opportunity in darkness and by stealth, eager to strike hands with Reaction and Oppression whether they wear the livery of the Kaiser or a brazen mask of benevolence and patriotism, while the nation, unheeding, "scrambles in the market-place of war."

Fellow-journalists, it would be idle to deny that in late years our profession has steadily lost ground; that there is widespread distrust of the authority with which we strive to speak; that our rulers, dissatisfied, seek new laws with which to search and control our business; that the public suspects that in our larger cities the press is under the control of a dangerous capitalism. What better chance than this war offers

could we possibly have to re-establish ourselves in popular confidence by showing our devotion to the truth, by a readiness surpassed by no other body of citizens, to serve the best in our national life? If it is the truth which sets us free, it is the truth, too, which keeps us free. And I for one have no fears as to the soundness of our popular judgments where the facts and the truth are known. When democracy appears to go astray it seems to me it is either because it has too great faith in what its rulers, often self-seeking, tell it or because it does not know the facts. Let it not be said of us in this war, as of Germany, that there are state documents and happenings and official acts of far-reaching import of which our people are ignorant. Let it not be said of the American press that it was a party to any suppression, political or otherwise, or that any part of it was denied circulation abroad. The guidance of the nation's destiny is in our hands. We may not always be able to form the nation's judgment, but let us set forth only things as they are, portraying them in their true and their ethical light, profoundly confident that our fellows will in the long run both act and judge aright.

But whether they do or do not, our solemn duty as journalists is clear, our responsibility, I repeat, so vast as to be all but overwhelming. Let us swear fealty anew to our institutions, believing them, whatever their shortcomings, the noblest that exist. Let us say in the words of a great American: "My country right or wrong; if right, to be kept right; if wrong, to be set right."

—*From an address by Oswald Garrison Villard before the School of Journalism at Columbia, Mo.*

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*"THE NEW DEMOCRACY"

Russia!
We stand amazed, abashed, before you!
We lift our eyes in admiration
We bow our heads in recognition
We hush our speech in reverence.

While we are sending men to teach you
To walk in new-made paths of Liberty and Justice,
You dare to do what others dare not do,
For Conscience sake!

Now, in the midst of war, you dare proclaim
The principles of true Democracy.
You show a faith in righteous action:
The eternal Truth is Truth, whatso shall plead or threaten.

How beautiful to searching eyes
This flash of diamond light athwart the dark!
Keep thus your New Democracy
Clean of the soil of juggling words and blurred sincerity,
Leader of Nations banging at your gates—
Russia!

San Francisco. EUFINA C. TOMPKINS.

*Petrograd, July 6.—In her relations with the Allies, Russia has defended the standpoint that the form of the government and the state organizations in Greece are exclusively the affairs of the Greek people. . . . The military activity of Russia's army now has increased the importance of the Democracy's views in international affairs.

Russia's Declaration: No forcible annexations; no punitive indemnities; free development for all nationalities.

The Second American Conference on Democracy and Terms of Peace

The Second American Conference on Democracy and Terms of Peace has passed into history, another one in the long series of attempts by the people of the world to obtain a voice in the government of the world and of themselves. Mis-reported, ridiculed and lied about by the press, watched over at every meeting by the secret service men of the government, driven from pillar to post in the effort to find audience room for the final mass meeting, told, four hours before the holding of that meeting, that the federal authorities would probably not permit it to be held, and with permission to hold it obtained only after a long session at the federal building and on condition that no literature be distributed, nevertheless the Conference was a huge and inspiring success.

One came away with a renewed belief that if ever democracy is established anywhere in the world, it will create a vastly different order from any known so far. One could not but feel that if the tide of unselfish idealism and devotion, desire to serve and love of liberty which was everywhere manifest in the sessions of the Conference shall ever succeed in placing itself actually in charge of the functions of government, the achievement of human liberty and equality will come appreciably nearer. As usual in great conventions, the discussions from the floor were most vital and impressive. That there is a great multitude of young men and women now growing up in this country who are indeed of a new generation and are the great hope of humanity was constantly suggested, not merely by the large numbers of young people who attended all the sessions, but by the enthusiasm and idealism of the positions they took. It is indeed matter for encouragement that there exists in the young manhood of the nation such idealism, such a vigorous unashamed sense of spiritual values, such courage and moral heroism as again and again in speaker after speaker was displayed on the floor of the Conference. Surely the nation should consider long and carefully before it violates this idealism and forces these brave, clean, humanity-loving young men to practice the technique of the bayonet and learn the cult of hate and murder.

The audience which at each session taxed the seating capacity of the Auditorium Recital Hall, was composed largely of young men, some of Russian, Scandinavian, Jewish and Irish ancestry, others of longer American heritage. Out of what the press reports termed a "sea of upturned whiskers," the present writer was able to find not more than three or four faces so adorned. But very few present were even of middle age, and the German and pro-German were conspicuous by their absence. The program was carried out practically as outlined in last week's UNITY (page 303), save that Mr. Charles Zueblin filled the time allotted to Miss Mary MacDowell, who had been called out of town, and that Professor Nearing presided at the second session in place of Mr. Maurer, who came only for the Sunday mass meeting.

The readers of UNITY are familiar with many of the arguments presented by the speakers. There prevailed the same insistence on the fundamental American rights of freedom of speech and conscience, the same determination to aid in providing legal defense

for the conscientious objector, the same desire to repeal the Conscription Law, and to have the United States accept and propose the Russian Terms of Peace, which marked the Chicago group meetings and the New York Conference already reported. The writer regrets not having heard the remarks of the chairman of the first session, Mr. E. C. Wentworth, and the opening address of the chairman of the Chicago Committee, Rev. Irving St. John Tucker. The high spiritual note which characterized the entire Conference was most inspiringly struck by the first speaker, Mr. Frank Stevens of Arden, Delaware, a Single Taxer and social worker of appealing gentleness, dignity and beauty of spirit, whom those at the Washington Conference remember for his splendid and courageous note to the President protesting against the declaration of war.

After stating that he came to represent the No-Conscription Fellowship, and speaking of the mental bewilderment of a time when even Single Taxers are interested in the single tax not as a means of stopping all wars, but as a means of providing revenue for the carrying on of this war, when the new freedom means the freedom to draft, when the upholding of the freedom of the press by Congress is nullified by a postal censorship, when the Attorney-General tells American citizens to obey the laws and keep their mouths shut, Mr. Stevens stated his own position as follows:

"I will not keep my mouth shut when all that makes this country better than another for my children to live in is being destroyed by those sworn to support its liberties.

"I will not cease to strive for the repeal of any law when it seeks to compel me to murder my own son or to murder another man's son.

"And I will appeal to the one tribunal whose verdict is binding, the tribunal of the individual conscience. From that tribunal I learn that I cannot kill;

"I cannot help another to kill;

"I cannot take the place of anyone who has gone to kill;

"I cannot counsel others to do otherwise;

"The ancient Hindu wisdom taught the wrong of hatred;

"The ancient Hebrew wisdom said: 'Thou shalt not kill!'

"The later Hebrew wisdom said: 'Love your enemies.'

"*Woe to that nation which has chosen a policy to which the law of love is treason.* 'If *this* be treason, make the most of it.' "

Continuing the subject of the conscientious objector, Mrs. W. I. Thomas said she believed the prevalence of such objectors was the logical and inevitable result of modern education, modern psychology and the social consciousness which in recent years has been slowly built up; that the young men of today are men of high ideals, of much human sympathy and a wide sense of human brotherhood, and that this makes it psychologically impossible to force such men into doing something they believe to be contrary to every principle of humanity and justice which they hold dear.

The position of the objector was then outlined by one of them, a vigorous, athletic young Scandinavian, Mr. C. E. Sorensen, from Nebraska, who said in part: "Jesus was the first conscientious objector when he said: 'Peter, put up thy sword.' The conscientious objector does not change his belief when administrations happen to change their policy. He believes that war makes a scrap of paper out of the Sermon on the Mount. He is not inactive; he believes he will find plenty of work to do in keeping American Prussianism from riding into power on the war storm. The real enemies of American liberty are not within the German Empire, but are the financial Hohenzollerns in the United States. The conscientious objector cannot follow those whose allegiance to democracy began and will end with this war. Not all of us base our position on Christian tradition. We believe in the dynamic power of love to create order and justice on earth, in the application of the rules of individual morality to international affairs, and that the world spirit of democracy which has persisted through all ages will not be advanced by killing half starved German boys, but by the forces of spirit and of love."

The Hon. Wm. E. Mason, U. S. Congressman-at-large from Illinois, was welcomed with deafening applause, and made a telling address, sprinkled with much logic, humor and pathos. He said the people should have been consulted before this war was declared; that the entire blame should not be placed on the President, who is but one man, but who is surrounded by a crowd of men known in Washington as the "General Staff," which seeks to direct the policy of the nation. "The President," said Mr. Mason, "has declared that he welcomes criticism, and it is the greatest duty of an American citizen to see to it that his country is *right*." He urged the people not to be frightened, not to be silenced by the press, or other forces, "for your right to protest is in the Constitution and there is nothing so old as yesterday's newspaper." After outlining his opposition to the Spanish war "by which we sought to make the Philippines happy our way and began the shooting of men, women and children," he reminded his audience that the people can make and unmake Presidents and Congressmen and that next November they can begin on the Congressmen.

Mr. Mason pointed out that the same act of Congress which "authorized" the President to call a conscripted army also "authorized" him to call a volunteer army, and that by this law it was as binding upon the government to accept the Roosevelt volunteers as to call out a million conscripts; because of this same act, it becomes no more a crime to discourage registration than to discourage enlistment, and it is his feeling that the "General Staff" should obey both portions of the law. He then passed to his proposed amendment to the Conscription Law, which will make clear that conscripted men shall not be sent outside the borders of the United States, and gave the Constitutional and legal authority upon which this amendment is based. It is his belief and that of many other eminent lawyers that the militia cannot legally be sent onto foreign soil. "When the American Constitution (which Gladstone said was the greatest instrument ever produced by the human mind) was being framed, it contained four purposes for which the militia could be called: to repel invasion, to quell insurrection, to enforce the law of the Union *and* to enforce treaties. It was evident to the framers of the Constitution that the inclusion of the last clause might require the send-

ing of the armies onto foreign soil, and hence they removed it from the list. As late as 1912 Attorney-General Wickersham ruled that a law that had been passed authorizing the President to draft the militia to service outside the country could not be enforced because it was unconstitutional, and he showed clearly that neither the repelling of invasion, the quelling of insurrections or the enforcement of the law of the Union could ever require the use of the army in another country than our own. Daniel Webster, to quote from whom has become almost as unsafe as to quote from the Declaration of Independence, opposed the 1814 Conscription Law on this same ground, declaring it to be unconstitutional because it did not specifically provide against the taking of the troops outside the boundaries of the United States. Moreover, the Act of Congress of 1916 included in the militia all able bodied men between the ages of 18 and 45."

Mr. Mason cited numerous other authorities in support of this contention, which may be found in his address to Congress on the subject, and said it was because he had sworn to support the Constitution and the laws of the nation when he took office, that he felt obliged to introduce this amendment to make the Conscription Law constitutional, and to do all he could to protect the rights of the people to repeal any law. He then spoke of the numerous letters he had received asking him to oppose the war and to oppose conscription. Some fifty letters in a stereotyped form, favoring the war, he had traced back to one manufacturing concern who had government contracts for the making of war supplies. "You may call me a crank or a sentimentalist, an anarchist or a Socialist, but one tear stained letter from some boy's mother has more weight with me than all the newspapers in the country."

The second session of the congress concerned itself first with the question of who shall pay for the war. Mr. Wm. W. Clay, a Chicago banker, spoke of certain reforms of the banking and currency systems which he believed would equitably adjust the financial burden. He was followed by Professor Keasby of the University of Texas, who spoke for the Single Tax, but admitted that single taxers were not opposed to other forms of taxation in addition to single tax if there was any other form which did not shift the burden on to the ultimate consumer. He told of a Texas man who had several hundred acres of vacant land outside the city of Austin, and who was very proud of a tiny war garden in his own back yard. When asked why he did not throw these acres of vacant lots open for cultivation, since he could not hope to feed the Allies on his own little garden, he replied that that would injure the sale of the lots. Mr. Keasby defined sovereignty as a function of the paramount producing power and outlined the development from the time when land was free and labor sovereign, through the period when the land had been seized by the priests and landlords and they were sovereign, to the present period when capital controls both the selling power, or services and goods, and the purchasing power, or commerce and credit, and on to the future when through the organization of labor and the socialization of capital there shall come the final liberation of the land.

Attorney Wm. A. Holly of Chicago, chairman of the Resolutions Committee of the Congress, said he was also a Single Taxer, but he believed the immediate problem was that of making those who wanted the war pay for the war; that taxes should be so arranged as to affect industry and the workers as lightly as possible, and until a tax on land values could be established, he believed in a heavy tax on big incomes so that the burden of the war should fall upon those best able to pay for it, upon the wealth of the country "that in the main is responsible for bringing on the war. The taxing of tea, coffee and other necessities and even luxuries simply makes the poor man who uses these things pay the tax." Mr. Holly then said that whether one believed in this war or did not believe in it, one must see the necessity for such conferences as these and for the maintenance of free speech and free assemblage in order that the people might express their will and prevent the entire burden of war from falling on the poor. He said that while he felt the majority of those present would not agree with him, he felt sure that "this war is justified, if any war ever is, and that the President has done as much to deserve the confidence of the American people as anyone ever did."

Mr. Tucker was then granted the privilege of the floor to offer a resolution calling the attention of the federal authorities to the evident intention of certain Chicago newspapers to provoke riot and incite the mob spirit as shown in the incorrect report, in one of the noon editions, of his opening address to the Conference, in which, according to the headlines, he had accused the President of being "guilty of black treason." As his typewritten copy of his address and the minutes of the Conference, and the fact that the representatives of the government who were present had not arrested him proved that he had made no such statement, the resolution was passed by a unanimous rising vote, amid much applause.

Prof. Charles Zueblin was then introduced and said he had spent two months in Washington trying to find out what a pacifist could do to serve his country in war time. He had learned many things to do but had come away discouraged by the note of intolerance in Washington, and was again discouraged to find the same note in the Conference. He hoped the People's Council would free itself of this defect, would become of real service through careful organization and hard work. "America is never again to be apart *from* the world; she is going to be a part *of* the world. The war will not end soon; it may end this year; it may go on a long time. Though I am friendly to the German people, I believe the German autocracy to contain in an extreme degree all the dangers of all autocracy, and that this is a war against autocracy. The German autocracy limits the thinking power of her citizens. Those of the United States who are of German descent should have been sending into Germany in the past three years a constant criticism of her autocracy. The greatest danger to us is a counterfeit peace. Mere opposition to the conscription law, which I hope you will make as definite as possible, will not solve all the problems. You must also reach out for a positive program. You must see that following conscription, universal military service and training are not fastened upon our young men, and that universal constructive service of both young men and young women

is introduced, by which not "unquestioning obedience" but self discipline and the spirit and practice of service in constructive ways in times of peace shall be taught our young people. Pacifists must also be prepared to do definite work in the period following the war. The curse of the Civil War was not in the killing but in the horrors of the reconstruction period, in the bitterness and hatred aroused not by our trying to kill them physically but in our trying to choke them spiritually. Pacifists must give the same hard work and attention to detail as has been given by the Federal Trade Commission in working out its plan for the taking over of the railroads."

Professor Scott Nearing followed Mr. Zueblin and said such conferences as this were in accord with President Wilson's statement issued on June 29th, in which he said that every man must have the freedom to speak his own mind, unmolested and uncriticized. He assumed the aim of all forward looking men and women to be that demanded by Ruskin—the largest number of happy and noble human beings. "Mankind has found that autocracy does not bring this about. Lloyd George in a speech apropos of the United States' entrance into the war, said that America had never made war save in the cause of freedom, and that her soldiers were again about to rally round liberty's standard on the field of France. Further on in the same speech Mr. Lloyd George said that after the war Britannia would still rule the wave. But up to 1914 Great Britain had not brought about in her own boundaries the condition desired by Ruskin. Despite her enormous prosperity and the great wealth of her landlords, Rowntree estimated that one-third of her population were living in poverty—that is true of only ten million people in the United States—and at the time of the Boer war it was made manifest that a great perecentage of the vitality of England's population had been depleted and destroyed by cruel industrial conditions. The sending of Balfour and Northcliffe to the United States shows, as did in our own case the sending of Root to Russia, that the conservative forces are still in the ascendancy in England. There can be no democracy in England until that group, represented by Lombard Street in London, is out of power. In the United States the lands, banks and industries are in the hands of a small group—two per cent of the population own 60 per cent of the wealth. The names of the 800 members of the Council of Defense and even Mr. Gomper's committee with 77 business men and 59 labor men, show what group is in control over here. The same group controls the machinery of public opinion—the public press—and there cannot be democracy in the United States while the group represented by Wall Street is in power. The *people*—those who do the work of the world—must own and govern, and must run the People's Council, and must see that after the war the human race finds joy and happiness through an industrial democracy."

One of the most interesting features of the program was the appearance of Mr. Dave S. Dunlop, President of the Farmers' Congress. "The Putnam County Farmers' Congress, not the national Congress—the President of that lives down in Georgia," he modestly stated. Clad in a well-fitting and most artistic suit of dark blue overalls, and speaking with a calmness, a quiet force and a delicious humor that won him instant attention, Mr. Dunlop seemed to the average observer to be quite the most picturesque and piquant material for a good newspaper "story" that the Conference afforded. But the wise gentlemen at the press table threw down their pencils, tilted back in their chairs and took a rest while Mr. Dunlop carried the audience with him from laughter to tears and back again. He said he had been elected to quite too many offices that day. A lady on the train had thought him a minister, a clerk at one hotel had called him "Governor" and at another hotel the clerk had called him "Captain," but in fact he was only a plain farmer. He had omitted to state he was a pacifist because he really wanted to get a room at the hotel. He then read from the long and rather pretentious list of persons whom the program of the New York Conference declared it represented, ranging from preachers to plumbers, and then said he would give a dollar to anyone who could find "farmers" in the list. But he knew that farmers were not really supposed to be people at all, but some kind of wild beast that resides somewhere outside the city limits. However, the farmers could get along without the "People's Council much better than the People's Council could get along without the farmers, for the United States census gave them 53.7 per cent of the population. Democracy was invented by American farmers in '76, not by Professor Aristotle of Greece, who lectured to a few of the aristocrats while the slaves did the work. In 1639 a few Connecticut farmers put forth their understanding of human freedom and the principles of liberty, and their word crossed to England and was taken up by Cromwell and his men, and went on to France and opened the Bastile, and has now gone to Russia and removed her Czar, and it will continue to go on until America and all the world knows freedom. The force of public opinion must be felt in free speech, a free press, a free ballot. The song of liberty must be not a solo but a chorus. We must be not passivists but pacifists; the Initiative, Referendum and Recall must be provided for. We must have a league, not to enforce peace but to *express* peace—a secretary and a Department of Peace in the Cabinet, a permanent Hague Court of Peace."

Saturday evening was occupied chiefly with reports of conditions making for or against democracy in other countries. Mr. Morris Hillquit of New York City presided and in his opening address read the peace terms proposed by the Russian Republic, and urged that we ask our government to announce the aims for which it fights. "The President has said perhaps a million of our soldiers will be killed fighting somewhere in France. The people have the right and the duty to ask of their paid servants in Washington, whom they elect to care for their interests, to state in clear terms for what this sacrifice is to be made. Mr. Hillquit believed no nation to be completely perverted, and said that while we may believe Germany to be most to blame, all other nations are accessories before the fact, for they are all after world markets, they have organized life on a basis of war. Modern criminology shows that mere punishment never reforms any criminal, and no more can any nation be changed by outside force. The war shows the bankruptcy of the old regime. . . It is folly to talk of reparation for this war. The harm done is irreparable; but some slight consolation might be afforded

if it is made to be the last war. This can come only from an organized federation of all nations, guaranteeing free access to the markets of the world by all nations, the abolishing of all armies and navies forever. So long as millions are trained to kill each other, so long as armies are in constant battle array, so long will we have war. Peace will come as the result of the concerted demand of the workers of the world. The governments influenced by the predatory classes may want war until victory is secured, but the workers want peace. Russia has shaken off the yoke of the Czar and become the first true democracy. It is now up to the German people to dispose of the Hohenzollerns as the Russians disposed of the Romanoffs. The most unstable business in the world today is that of the czars and kings."

Conditions in Canada were discussed by Miss Laura Hughes, a Canadian woman, who began by quoting from a speech made by President Wilson soon after the European war began, in which he said it was a war made by rulers and not by peoples, made because the forces of autocracy and militarism were strong and the forces of democracy weak, and because the forces of autocracy overcame the forces of democracy in the German Reichstag, in the British Parliament, in the Austrian Diet, in the French cabinet and in the Russian duma. He said this should be a solemn warning to the democracies of the world which should take note of this experience lest they have the same bitter lesson forced upon them. Miss Hughes defined militarism and autocracy as identical and inseparable systems under which the people are ruled by their officials, while in a democracy the officials are ruled by the people. She quoted from an editorial in the *London Post* some eight months after the war in which that journal threw off its mask and declared it was time to stop all this absurd talk about fighting for human rights and for internationalism, and advocated the putting down of the trades unions. She said the people of Canada were coming to feel that if democracy is worth fighting for, it is worth trying, and that the officials who are paid to serve the interests of the people must begin to earn their salaries. She reported the number of Canadian men killed in the war to be 100,000. The present Canadian law exempts men who can prove that going to the war would be detrimental to their business. If the conscription law passes without a clause conscripting wealth, the workers say they will call a general strike. In closing, Miss Hughes plead for a nation so right that it doesn't have to convince others, and said it is much better to be a martyr in a good cause than a czar in a bad one.

Mr. M. A. Stolar then spoke of conditions in Russia, saying humorously that with present conditions in America, the Russian can say, "It feels just like home." The demand to see registration cards seems like the demand in old Russia to produce passports; the red flag used to be attacked in Russia as it was here in Boston the other day; Patterson and Ludlow and Lawrence and Calumet and the Mooney case recalled similar triumphs of the Russian autocracy. He said the sending of Mr. Root to Russia prepared the Russian peoople for what they could expect from us. He declared the Russian republic wants not a separate peace but a *general* and immediate democratic peace, and said the governments who made the war could not be intrusted with the making of peace, which must be done by the working classes. He recalled the declaration of the European rulers that they would fight this war to a victorious finish if it took the last muzik and the last peasant, and said the workers should be equally willing to pledge even the last king or czar to the cause of human liberty—even the last industrial king, if necessary. He regretted the sort of pacifist who was a pacifist until the war began and then went to knitting socks, and closed with the assurance that just as there used to be in the United States a society of the "Friends of Russian Freedom," so now there is in Russia a society of the "Friends of American Freedom," called into existence by the Mooney case.

Mr. Holly then presented a resolution asking the Conference to send its congratulations to the Council of Soldiers and Workingmen of the Russian Republic and its approval of the Russian peace terms. This was carried unanimously with much enthusiasm.

Mr. Christian M. Madsen then spoke of such democratic forces in Denmark as its system of equal suffrage for men and women, its strong peace society with such leaders as George Brandes, and its Socialist party.

Professor Schwill of the University of Chicago spoke of the Balkan States and urged the leaving of the solution of the war problem to the people, as Russia had done.

Mr. A. W. Ricker of *Pearson's Magazine* emphasized the need of free press and lack of censorship, and Mr. Carl D. Thompson paid tribute to the great service rendered the world by the Russian revolution, particularly in its enunciation of its splendid and humane peace terms.

Miss Mary O'Reilly presented Ireland's claim for freedom, and referred with feeling to those who gave their lives in Dublin to defend the people against conscription into a war in which they did not believe.

Sunday morning's session was presided over by Miss Ella J. Abeel and occupied by Mr. Lochner in outlining the plan of the People's Council, and in answering questions from the floor concerning it, and by the report of the Resolutions Committee, which was adopted practically as read, and which will be printed in a later number of UNITY. The members of the Resolutions Committee, appointed at the first session of the Conference, were: Wm. A. Holly, chairman; Irvin St. John Tucker, Morris Hillquit, Mary O'Reilly, Mr. Rumblon, Mr. Lundin, Miss Dorothy North, Mrs. Eleanor Karsten, Mrs. Lola Lloyd. The plan of the organization of the Council has already appeared in UNITY (June 28, page 289). Mr. Lochner said this was an outgrowth of the Emergency Peace Conferences, the first of which was called by Miss Jane Addams in Chicago, early in 1915. He spoke of a group of five hundred thousand Jewish workers who had declared their intention of affiliating with the Council in New York, but were told by Mr. Gompers that they must not do this, upon which they met again and unanimously voted to affiliate. Mr. Lochner pointed out that it is, under the Constitution, not the business of the President but the business of Congress to declare peace terms and state why we are in war, and that it is the business of the people to tell their hired men in Washington on what terms they want peace. He also stated that all the records

of the office of the Council are open at all times to inspection by the government or by anyone, and that they have no secrets of any kind, since it would be inconsistent for an organization engaged in work against secret diplomacy to have any of its own proceedings of the same nature. Mr. Lochner read amid much applause the names of some of the members of the Organizing Committee, among them David Starr Jordan and Senator Works of California, Daniel Kiefer, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Rev. Richard W. Hogue, Rabbi Judah L. Magnes, Emily Green Balch, Bishop Paul of Utah, James H. Maurer, Joseph D. Cannon, Harry W. L. Dana, Rev. Norman Thomas and others equally well known. He stated that the national meeting of the Council will be held about September 1st, probably in Minneapolis; at any rate in some middle-west city where the agricultural interests may more readily be represented.

Despite the fact that on Saturday morning the directors of the National League Ball Park had rescinded the permission to hold the mass meeting at that place, and the location had to be changed to Riverview Park without time for adequate notice, some seven or eight thousand people attended this meeting, many coming late because of having gone first to the other park, and many standing throughout the long session, listening with closest attention and showing emphatic and vigorous agreement with the statements of the speakers. Mr. Tucker presided, and the addresses of Congressman Mason, Miss Hughes and Professor Keasby have already been covered in their main points by this report. Mr. James Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and a member of the Legislature of that State, was a favorite with the crowd. He said there never was a greater spirit of hostility to autocracy and never greater intolerance on the part of the press than exist today. He spoke with humor of the speed with which over night the plutocracy has declared for democracy, which they seemed to think would be achieved by permitting the plain soldier to share the same dog-tent as the millionaire's son. "Even this dream has rarely been realized; for example, the President of a Pennsylvania Chamber of Commerce, who had warmly advocated the war, had his son enlist and he was appointed captain and ordered to inspect the small arms at the arsenal in his home city, so that he really slept in his own bed every night. One of the Pennsylvania congressmen who voted for war secured positions for his three sons in a munition factory so that they might escape the trenches." Mr. Maurer regretted the attempt to suspend labor laws, to further exploit the workers, muzzle the press and stop free speech and assemblage, in short to Prussianize America in order to democratize Europe. He urged the working people to enter the struggle for democracy, not with the weapons of the savage but with the weapons of the intellect. He believed the working cost of the war should be paid by the wealthy classes and spoke of the 2,800 incomes in the United States which average $4,400,000,000 annually, and which should be conscripted to pay the cost of war. He urged the unions to do their duty in upholding labor standards and criticized the position taken by Mr. Gompers, a criticism loudly approved by his audience. He closed with a telling arraignment of war which, he said, always means increased tuberculosis, increased death rate and decreased birth rate, more venereal disease, more crime and prostitution, more widows and orphans, more insanity—a stampeding of mankind back to savagery.

Mr. Seymour Stedman referred to the demand of the Vice-President of the Morgan syndicate for ten million men, and urged the need of deposing not merely the houses of the Romanoffs and the Hohenzollerns and of Savoy, but the house of Morgan as well. He advised the democratic forces of America to concern themselves with the character of the governments of the Allies as well as with those of the enemy and referred to the 139 Hindus now under arrest on our western coast charged with conspiring to free the three hundred million people of India from British rule. "India, which was taken by Great Britain after she defeated France in 1700, pays one and a half millions revenue to England annually and her illiteracy is 95 per cent. Ten millions of her people have died of starvation in the last ten years, which British statesmen say is providential since it obviates the necessity of wars to reduce population. We should ask Great Britain to show her belief in liberty, in Ireland and India and Egypt."

The best part of the Conference, the report of the discussions from the floor, having been left until the last, after far too much space has been used, but three incidents can be recorded out of some thirty or more which are of equal human interest. There was the dear little old lady who rose with her hands full of parcels, and said in quavering tones that she represented a little peace group in a neighboring State, which had sent her to bring to the Convention this message: "Upon the birth of Jesus of Nazareth the angels sang: '*Peace* on earth, good will to men.'"

And there was the splendid young Russian, who brought the discussion from an impending flight into single tax and socialist abstractions by the touching appeal to "those of you who have lived a longer time in America, and are therefore acquainted with the history of her heritage of freedom, to teach us how to enforce in this present crisis the rights we are supposed to have."

A young Scandinavian urged that we finance the war by ending it, and with slow and subtle humor said: "Our beloved Columbia has made a strange *morgan-atic* marriage with some fellows across the sea. Her good old father, George Washington, warned her against such alliances, but he is dead now and there was no one to protect her. But the 'spirit of '76' is no more popular across the water now than it was in the beginning." With touching earnestness he urged them all to dedicate themselves to the spirit of service and hoped that God would give the government courage to remedy its mistake in going into the war by backing out of it as soon as possible, not by blindly pushing ahead, and cited Webster's opposition to conscription in the war of 1812 and Lincoln's opposition to the Mexican war as encouraging precedents for standing by one's convictions in this war.

And there were equally earnest and interesting delegates from Santa Barbara, California, and Paterson, New Jersey, and New York City, and Kansas and Michigan, and Nebraska and Minnesota, and the universities of Illinois and Texas, all intensely American in their devotion to the spirit of human liberty and the preservation of democracy, all eager for the chance to serve humanity, all sane and practical in

their plans for action, all courageous in their determination to stand for the thing they believed to be right and to take whatever consequences might come to them. And while the crank, and the man with a panacea for all the ills of the race, and the person for whom the strain of the war had obviously been too great, were present at this as at all popular gatherings, they merely occupied their three minutes and then the discussion went on to its larger and saner issues.

SUSAN QUACKENBUSH.

India's War Sacrifices

Never in the history of India have such marvelous sacrifices been made. Albeit we noticed contrary feelings being developed since a dozen years, yet I never dreamed there is so much inherent latent germ of loyalty.

India is a very vast country: but there is no political or religious revolution which called forth so much sacrifices as evinced in the present case.

The diverse martial races of India—the Sikhs, the Pathans, the Nepolese—all have joined hands to offer their last drop of blood at the altar of this awful carnage.

Now the youths—the future flower of the Indian nation—are asked to be enlisted as privates in defense of India on a paltry pittance of 11 R's with free ration and dress.

The Bengalee race has never been known to have fought any battle since the dawn of history; but abruptly a zeal has broken in upon the juvenile minds to enlist.

One M. A. graduate in Calcutta, practicing in law courts, enlisted himself, on that nominal wage; went to a far off military station for training.

The Bengalee race is proverbially timid but more educated and intelligent.

If the war continues long I am afraid lest the Indian colleges be as the sister colleges in England. What vast sacrifices have been made in shape of charity and war loan! Even a decent sum could not be raised to perpetuate the memory of India's greatest modern reformer, the Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

A small sub-division like this has contributed more than twenty-two thousand rupees on a single meeting excluding the European tea planting members. Perhaps seventy or eighty thousand rupees will be ere long raised from this poor locality for contribution to the war loan. The state of Baroda has contributed 70 lakhs to the loan fund.

During the siege of Arcot by the French when Lord Clive and his native soldiers were on the verge of starvation, the latter partook only the gruel but the boiled rice was given to their commander and his European comrades. But this sacrifice is nothing compared to the present-day trials. There is famine, there is plague, there is lull in mercantile business, there is epidemic of other virulent type, yet so much self-denial in loss of lives, not to speak of money!

If the war continues long, there will be further sacrifices of lives; scarcity of food, close of business, increase of taxation, increase of already high prices of necessaries.

The Indian horizon seems darkened. Is it a prelude to a new creation and the destruction of the old as predicted in our own scriptures?

The Hindu philosophy about war is, when earth is burdened with sin, God incarnates himself to lessen its load. Now is an age of materialism and gross sensualism. It flouts all ideas to live religion practically.

Is it then strange that the earth should be thus visited?

Whatever it may mean, the war breaks the gyves which divide one religion from another, levels the social distinctions of ranks, eliminates drink and luxury, turns mind Godward, binds the interests of all man into a common bond. God is the dispenser of aught, we say evil or good, we cannot upset His will, but make our offer of prayer to get out of the trouble which imperils the whole world.

SARAT CH. CHAKRAVARTI.

Golaghat Arran, India, May 1, 1917.

JEWEL-WEED

Thou lonely, dew-wet mountain road,
  Traversed by toiling feet each day,
What rare enchantment maketh thee
  Appear so gay?

Thy sentinels, on either hand
  Rise tamarack, birch and balsam-fir,
O'er the familiar shrubs that greet
  The wayfarer;

But here's a magic cometh new—
  A joy to gladden thee, indeed:
This passionate out-flowering of
  The jewel-weed,

That now, when days are growing drear,
  As summer dreams that she is old,
Hangs out a myriad pleasure-bells
  Of mottled gold!

Thine only, these, thou lonely road!
  Tho' hands that take, and naught restore,
Rob thee of other treasured things,
  Thine these are, for

A fairy, cradled in each bloom,
  To all who pass the charmed spot
Whispers in warning:—"Friends, admire,—
  But touch me not!

"Leave me to blossom where I sprung,
  A joy untarnished shall I seem;
Pluck me, and you dispel the charm
  And blur the dream!"

—Florence Earle Coates.

BOOKS IN SUMMER

"A world of books amid a world of green,
Sweet song without, sweet song again within;
Flowers in the garden, in the folios, too;
O happy volumes, let me live with you."

—Exchange.

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"The World is my country, to do Good is my Religion."

A MAN'S FIGHT WITH A RIVER.

"No series of events in the history of Southern California is more interesting or more dramatic than the creation of the beautiful and fertile oasis of the Imperial Valley in the arid desert basin of the Salton Sink; the partial transformation of this cultivated valley into a great inland sea by the furious inpour of a runaway river, the barring out of the flood by the courage and energy of a single man and the final development of the valley into one of the richest agricultural areas in the world."

This the opening paragraph of George Kennan's *The Salton Sea: An Account of Harriman's Fight with the Colorado River,* indicates the nature of the unusual story which he has to tell in that new book. It is a story of big dramatic moments and one which celebrates a deed of large and lasting benefits to the people of this country.

The nature of Mr. Kennan's narrative with further details of its setting is indicated in the following extract from his first chapter: "Sixteen years ago the region now known as the Imperial Valley, whose productiveness now rivals that of the lower Nile, was the dried-up bottom of an ancient sea. It was seldom sprinkled by rain; it was scorched by sunshine of almost equatorial intensity, and during the summer months its mirage-haunted air was frequently heated to a temperature of 120 degrees. The greater part of it lay far below the level of the sea; nearly all of it was destitute of water and vegetation; furious dust and sand storms swept across it, and it was regarded, by all the early explorers of the Southwest, as perhaps the dreariest and most forbidding desert on the North American continent. This ancient sea-basin, which thousands of years ago held the northern part of the Gulf of California, is now the Imperial Valley—a vast agricultural and horticultural hothouse, which produces almost everything that can be grown in lower Egypt, and which has recently been described in the *San Francisco Argonaut* as 'potentially the richest unified district in the United States.'

"As recently as the year 1900, the Imperial Valley had not a single civilized inhabitant, and not one of its hot, arid acres had ever been cultivated. It now has a population of more than forty thousand, with churches, banks, ice factories, electric light plants and fine school buildings, in half a dozen prosperous towns, and its 400,000 acres of cultivated land have produced, in the last six or eight years, crops to the value of at least $50,000,000. The history of this fertile oasis in the Colorado Desert will forever be connected with the name of E. H. Harriman. He did not create the Imperial Valley, nor did he develop it; but he saved it from ruinous devastation at a time when the agency that had created it threatened capriciously to destroy it, and when there was no other power in the world that could give it protection."

Mr. Kennan's story is a new one to the vast majority of people who know of the Imperial Valley only in a vague way and who know nothing of its very remarkable history. These as well as those who are acquainted with its stirring events will be interested in this vivid little volume.—*Macmillan.*

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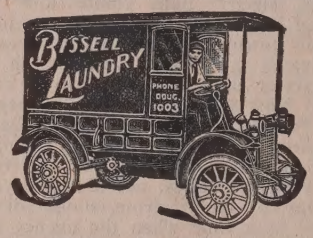

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